

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CU-04 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 DRC-01

/153 W

----- 116152

O R 011100Z JUN 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6171

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3467

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: PHASE II HIGHLIGHTS - MAY 27-31

1. SUMMARY. THE CONFERENCE MOVED FORWARD IN SOME AREAS,  
BUT REMAINED TOTALLY DEADLOCKED ON OTHERS. DRAFTING OF  
PRINCIPLES GUIDING REALTIONS AMONG STATES MOVED ON TO THE  
SIXTH OF ITS LIST OF TEN PRINCIPLES, AND THE SUBCOMMITTEE  
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ON ENVIRONMENT VIRTUALLY COMPLETED ITS WORK. BUT THERE

WAS NO MOVEMENT WHATSOEVER ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY, OR HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBJECTS, AND FOLLOW-UP HAS CEASED TO BE DISCUSSED AT ALL. NOVERTHELESS, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT PHASE II SHOULD FINISH IN TIME FOR A THIRD PHASE SUMMIT IN JULY. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL SITUATION -- CONTINUED LACK OF MOVEMENT ON MILITARY ASPECTS, FREER MOVEMENT SUBJECTS, AND FOLLOW-UP LED TO ROMANIAN PLEA IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD ALL CONFERENCE ISSUES. FRG AND DRENCH REPS TOOK UP THE SAME THEME, AND FRG SUGGESTED EARLY CONSIDERATION OF SUMMER RECESS, WITH RESUMPTION OF PHASE II WORK IN THE AUTUMN. GDR AND CZECH REPS IN REPLY INSISTED PHASE II SHOULD CONCLUDE IN TIME FOR A THIRD PHASE SUMMIT IN JULY, AND SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD SAID SHARPLY THAT HE WAS SURPRISED TO HEAR ONE DELEGATION MENTION THE POSSIBILITY OF A RECESS. "IF THIS REPRESENTS A NATIONAL POLICY, THE COUNTRY CONCERNED WILL HAVE TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CSCE." AS FAR AS SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED, PHASE II CAN BE COMPLETED "IN THE COMING WEEKS." SOVIETS HAVE STRESSED PRIVATELY TO USDEL THAT THEY DO NOT CONCEIVE OF A CONTINUATION OF PHASE II AFTER THIS SUMMER. ACCORDING TO SOVIET DEL, PHASE II MUST FINISH NO LATER THAN JULY 12, WITH THIRD PHASE IN JULY, AND SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN "NO CONSIDERATION" TO POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES. IN PRIVATE CONTACTS SOVIET DEL HAS REPEATED THAT USSR IS PREPARED TO MAKE BASKET III CONCESSIONS TO MAKE THIS SCENARIO POSSIBLE, PROVIDED WEST IS WILLING TO "MEET THEM HALFWAY" AND THERE IS NO REQUIREMENT FOR CHANGES IN INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET STATE.

3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- PRINCIPLES SUB-COMMITTEE REGISTERED TEXT OF FIFTH PRINCIPLE ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. DRAFTING ON NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE GOT OFF TO SLOW START AS WESTERN DELEGATIONS WERE TORN BETWEEN A DESIRE FOR A STRONG FORMULATION, WITH MAXIMUM IMPACT ON THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, AND A WEAK FORMULATION WITH MINIMUM UTILITY TO THE SOVIETS AS A SHIELD AGAINST EFFECTS OF BASKET III. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION SWISS TABLED DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR A POST-CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFERENCE STUDY AND ELABORATION OF A SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. SWISS TOOK POSITION THAT MANDATORY NATURE OF THE SYSTEM WAS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL AND THAT THEY WOULD PREFER FAILURE OF PROPOSAL TO COSMETIC COMPROMISE ON THIS ISSUE WITH EAST. IN THE EVENT OF FAILURE, SWISS SAID NATIONS RESPONSIBLE MUST ACCEPT BLAME.

4. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE BEGAN SECOND READING OF THE DRAFT WHICH RESPONDS TO PARAS 22 AND 24 OF THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS, ESSENTIALLY A REPETITION OF POSITIONS TAKEN DURING THE DRAFTING PROCESS. VERY FEW BRACKETS WERE REMOVED AND MOST EFFORTS TO REFORMULATE LANGUAGE MET WITH STRONG OPPOSITION FROM ONE QUARTER OR ANOTHER. FRANCE CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN ITS GENERAL RESERVE ON THIS PART OF THE PAPER. THE POSITION OF THE NEUTRALS, LED BY YUGOSLAVIA, SEEMED TO HARDEN, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO THEIR DESIRE FOR AN INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT FOR THE FLOW OF INFORMATION FROM CONFERENCES ON DISARMAMENT TO NON-PARTICIPANTS IN SUCH CONFERENCES EQUALLY FIRM WAS DESIRE OF NEUTRALS TO HAVE A SPECIFIC VOICE IN SUCH MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AS MBFR. WHILE AWARE THAT SUCH PROPOSALS ARE NOT NEGOTIABLE, NEUTRALS PERSISTED IN THEIR POSITION WITH THE HOPE THAT THEY HAD ACCUMULATED BARGAINING CHIPS TO TRADE FOR CBMS. US EFFORTS TO HAVE REFERENCE TO MEDITERRANEAN TRANSFERRED TO PREAMBLE RECEIVED SUPPORT ONLY FROM BULGARIA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3467

5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT -- SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, DEADLOCKED ON WHERE TO PLACE IDEA OF NON-DISCRIMINATION, TURNED TO US-PROPOSED RESOLUTION ON ARBITRATION, PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE WAS REGISTERED, AND THE GROUP MADE SOME PROGRESS ON OPERATIVE PROVISIONS. SOVIET STATEMENTS MADE IT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO GET AGREEMENT ON A SATISFACTORY TEXT RECOMMENDING THIRD COUNTRY ARBITRATION. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION WAS UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A LIST OF AREAS PARTICULARLY SUITABLE FOR LONG-TERM COOPERATION  
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BECAUSE OF SOVIET INSISTENCE ON INCLUDING MECHANICAL ENGINEERING AND EC REFUSAL. ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEE FINISHED REGISTERING THE TEXTS OF ITS FINAL DOCUMENT, LEAVING ONLY TWO BRACKETED PHRASES, ONE CONCERNING MEDITERRANEAN ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVITIES, FOR LATER RESOLUTION. IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE ON FORMS AND METHODS OF COOPERATION, WITH STICKING POINTS ON ISSUES OF "DIRECT CONTACTS," "RECIPROCITY," AND "THE INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES," WHICH ALSO PLAGUE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES IN THIS BASKET.

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF THE EARLY PARAGRAPHS OF BASKET III PREAMBLE WAS INCONCLUSIVE. SOVIETS EXHIBITED NO SENSE OF URGENCY AND REFUSED TO TOUCH THE KEY PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEES REMAINED DEADLOCKED, WITH THE SOVIETS TAKING NO INITIATIVES AND SHOWING LITTLE INTEREST IN MODEST WESTERN/NEUTRAL EFFORTS TO COMPROMISE ON SOME ISSUES. HUNGARY ENLIVENED ONE INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE SESSION WITH A STRIDENT ATTACK ON RFE WHICH ELICITED A US RESPONSE. IN CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE, FRENCH TABLED LENGTHY DECLARATION STRESSING EUROPEAN CULTURAL COOPERATION, WHICH WAS PRIVATELY CRITICIZED BY SOVIETS AND SOME NATO COUNTRIES, AND IS UNLIKELY TO SURVIVE IN ITS PRESENT FORM. OTHERWISE, THERE WAS NO PROGRESS IN WORK OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE, AND EC-NINE ARE DRAFTING REVISED TEXTS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT AT LEAST SOME SOVIET OBJECTIONS TO ORIGINAL PROPOSALS. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, SOVIETS

RESUMED MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION AND LIMITED PROGRESS WAS MADE ON WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AND CO-OPERATION.

7. COMMENT: THE CURRENT CSCE SQUEEZE IS A HIGH STAKES POKER GAME. THE SOVIETS ARE INSISTING STRENUOUSLY ON THE NECESSITY FOR COMPLETING THE CONFERENCE THIS SUMMER, BUT HAVE NOT YET SHOWN WHAT CONCESSIONS THEY MAY HAVE AVAILABLE TO MAKE THIS SCENARIO GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE. THEY HAVE MADE IT PLAIN THAT, IF THE WEST CALLS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF PHASE II, THEY WILL TRY TO PLACE THE BLAME FOR DRAGGING OUT CSCE--AND THUS IMPEDING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE--SQUARELY ON THE WESTERN CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNTRIES. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS, MEANWHILE, ARE PLAYING THEIR OWN HAND, TRYING TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM SOVIET CONCESSIONS IN THE MILITARY AND FREER MOVEMENT AREAS. THESE COUNTRIES REALIZE THAT THEY REALLY HAVE ONLY ONE TRUMPT CARD; THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THE THIRD PHASE, AND THEY ARE DETERMINED TO AVOID ANY COMMITMENTS UNTIL SOVIET CONCESSIONS ARE MORE FORTHCOMING. AS A RESULT, A HIGHLY UNCERTAIN SUTUATION HAS DEVELOPED HERE, WITH EACH SIDE APPARENTLY HOPING THAT GROWING PRESSURE WILL LEAD OTHERS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS FIRST.

8. MEANWHILE, PRACTICAL FACTORS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY SIGNIFICANT. MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES AGREE THAT GIVEN BASIC AGREEMENT, THE REMAINING DRAFTING IN BASKETS II AND III COULD BE COMPLETED IN A RELATIVELY SHORT TIME. BUT WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FULLY AGREED TEXTS IN THE MILITARY FIELD, WILL REQUIRE CONSIDERABLY MORE TIME, AND THERE IS SERIOUS DOUBT AS TO WHETHER THEY COULD BE FINISHED THIS UMMER, EVEN WITH THE BEST POSSIBLE WILL. THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE SOLUTION TO THIS SITUATION IS FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES TO CUT DOWN THEIR AMBITIIONS, BUT WE HAVE POINTED OUT PRIVATELY TO THE SOVIET DELEGATION HERE THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE NOW LOCKED INTO A COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, INVOLVING EC-9 AND NATO MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, AND THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF A DRAMATIC BREAKTHROUGH NECESSARILY INVOLVING SOVIET CONCESSIONS, THIS PROCESS WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO NEGATIVE CONCLUSIONS ON CSCE. IF THE SOVIETS WANT A THIRD PHASE SUMMIT IN JULY, IT IS UP TO THEM TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE. END COMMENT.ABRAMS

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## Message Attributes

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